

Power, society and AVT in Turkey: an overview

Abstract: The article relates the findings of an ongoing research project that encompasses several decades of AVT in Turkey. Drawing a matrix of relations and interactions between types of AVT (i.e. subtitling, dubbing, remakes, adaptations) and practices (i.e. censoring, choice of AV products) and the political as well as social realities and aspirations of certain periods, the aim is to provide a historical trajectory of AVT to exemplify the specific use of certain types of AVT in line with societal and political aspirations and developments. Limited by the length of an article and the inability to provide AV material in printed format, the article provides an overview of the major eras of AVT and the political and societal shifts that necessitated or brought about changes to the AVT scene in the decades studied.

1. Introduction

The discussion of issues such as the use of different types of AVT for specific purposes (i.e. localized adaptations of foreign AV products for building a national identity, dubbing with the standard dialect to support language standardization and learning, providing information flow and familiarity with foreign cultures through subtitling), social and political policies that influence AVT (i.e. tax reductions in films imports, foreign/domestic productions, audience viewing rates, censorship organs), power play (i.e. state led AV sector, elitist, ideological, and populist AV productions and translations), actors (i.e. governments, foreign firms and agreements) and technologies (i.e. dubbing, subtitling) are all of interest to the AVT researcher. Following the trajectory of the audiovisual sector¹ and AVT in Turkey, there is evidence to suggest different types of AVT, in line with the realities of certain eras, may be used in line with social and political aspirations.

Many issues, events and subjects have to be considered in providing an overview of the AVT scene in Turkey; but three are of central importance. In order to draw a matrix of interrelations between politics, society and AVT, the realities of Turkey at certain times become significant in conjunction with the types of AVT that are produced. In line with this notion, the limitation of the scope of AVT to “AVT proper” (i.e. subtitling, dubbing, voice over) would defeat the purpose of

1 Audiovisual sector in this study is limited to include translations for cinema, DVD, and television.

the study. The aim is not to outline AVT proper practices, but to provide a picture of the myriad of possibilities of the transfer of the images and sounds and the ideas inherent in AV products across cultures (which, as will be explained, was the reason behind the use of AVT in the first place in Turkey) and the use of each type in conjunction with the country's realities. Thus, the study includes all types of AVT from the current subtitled products to the initial dubbed products and remakes (as defined by Evans 2014, 300–304) and adaptations (as defined in Lavigne 2014, Moran 1998), as a realistic view of the trajectory of AVT in Turkey necessitates this larger perspective.

Secondly, the artistic, societal, linguistic and cultural limitations and the opportunities presented by the use of certain types of AVT also need to be considered. This point ties in with the ideas aptly summarized by Gottlieb (2005, 13), where he explains that certain types of AVT lead to different impacts on target audiences. He analyses different types of production across factors such as affordability, semiotic authenticity, dialogue authenticity, content mediation, access to original, foreign culture mediation, foreign language training, literacy training, domestic language boosting, linguistic integrity. Stemming from the same perspective, for the purpose of the research, it is apparent that types of AVT such as subtitling allows for access to the original, whereas, for example, adaptations and remakes fall on the localization part of the spectrum hinging on the notion that certain types of AVT allow for easier manipulation or more filtering in the transfer of AV products across cultures (i.e. censoring, recreation, filtering etc.) than others².

Thirdly, the importance of the AV sector and AVT in particular for the cultivation, education, etc. of society in Turkey needs to be considered. The research by experts in media, politics, sociology, communication studies has been accentuating the importance of AV products and AVT for the cultivation of Turkish society for over half a century (for examples of listing of such research see: Gül 2009; Kejanlioğlu 2001; Oskay 1971; Mete 1992). This ties in with the role of translation within a society, and the present day repertoire (both old and new) of translated

2 It is not the intention of the author to imply that dubbing equates with censoring or subtitling allows for a faithful rendition of an AV product as that would depend largely on the translation practice; but, the idea exemplified in detail when relevant in the study is that some types of AVT make the “filtering in the transference of AV products across cultures” simpler and more effective. The use of the notion of filtering implies various changes to AV products including censoring of dialogues, to cutting out scenes, to reformulation of the visual to suit target culture norms. The term “appropriation” may also be used.

AV products which are also very important in analyzing the formulation and importance of AVT in a given country.

2. The position of translation in general in Turkey and the AVT scene

Proclaimed in 1923, the Republic of Turkey with Westernization at the center of its aspirations, aimed to mold a new identity that would be established on the basis of a new common culture (Güvenç 1997:225). The elite wished to integrate Western civilization through a transfer of certain repertoire and build on this to produce a model of a unique nation.

Thus, translation from European sources played a highly distinctive role in the shaping of modern Turkish culture in the twentieth century (Paker 2002, vii), as it offered a means of creating a new repertoire in a country where the domestic one was regarded as weak and poor (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009, 43). The perceived superiority and continued admiration of Western cultural products led to reliance on 'imports' rather than indigenous creation in the setting up of a sound intellectual infrastructure (Tahir Gürçağlar 2002, 271). In this sense translation was a means to import forms and ideas that would provide a repertoire for Turkish society to achieve its goals (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009, 37).

Furthermore, technical innovations brought about new opportunities for import; for example, studies in Turkey underline that, in the 20th century, cinema and television have contributed to the evolution of Turkish society in a way as to both retain the Turkish identity and also to cultivate it in a certain direction (Aziz 1991, 5). Since the late 1950s cinemas in major cities and the outdoor cinemas set up in small towns and villages alike were used in Turkey to provide the Turkish people with an image of the West they were striving to become a part of. The sounds and images portrayed through this medium would allow the Turkish people to acquaint themselves with the culture of the West, everything from the style of dress, to the music, to the lifestyles and so on. Built on the remnants of a Muslim Empire, the young, impoverished nation had a vision of Westernization with AVT providing a tangible example of this for the masses who had had no historical contact, commonality or shared culture with the West in the sense that Europe or America had (see Tatlı 2015 for full scale study of Turkey's Westernization project through the use of AV and AVT).

The AVT scene of each country will probably contain examples of the fact that the film and program production business assumes an intermediary role between "artistic endeavors as well as both economic considerations and political and ideological constraints" (Meyer Clement 2015, 9). This makes the media powerful tools,

barometers of social, structural and cultural change (Johnson 2001, 147). Many studies have been and are being conducted in Turkey as regards the impact of television and cinema on the cultural, societal, political and other realities with researchers unanimously agreeing on the power of AV products and AVT (some prominent examples of initial research as quoted in Batmaz 1995, 3- Aziz 1984, 1982a, 1982b; Batmaz 1991b, 1986; Oskay 1982; Şanyapılı 1981; Tokgöz 1984, 1979, 1982).

The research summarized below draws a picture of this matrix of relations through several decades of AVT in Turkey.

3. The beginning: 1914–1950s

In looking at the economic and social realities, the country had neither the resources nor the accumulation, both artistically and socially, to set up a new cinema sector at the time of its establishment. Thus, it was natural that audiovisual products were translated and transferred to overcome conceived lacks in the Turkish AV repertoire, as AVT allowed the transfer of the culture of the West.

In 1914 the first movie theater, *Ali Efendi Sineması*, established by the Seden brothers, started importing foreign films (Özön 1958), followed shortly by the Pathé cinema which in those days was viewed as the center of cinema in Turkey. These establishments contributed to AVT in that they embraced new ways to translate films. For example, when a gun was fired in a film a prop master would pop a cork to imitate the sound, or when an actor sang in the film a singer was hired to sing in the movie theater (N. Tilgen's unpublished notes as quoted in Scognamillo 2014, 73). In remembering this era one writer states that the same film was shown back to back for days and the copies of the films were bad; all films were reputed to have come from France though this was not the case (Koçu 1972).

Even though there were earlier examples, it was first in the late 1920s and 1930s that cinema, both Turkish and foreign, really 'came to Turkey' and until the establishment of Kemal Film in 1922 the Turkish cinema had been led by official or semi-official state resources. The local cinema scene of the time was composed of the elite who had moved to this genre through theater. Akı (1968) refers to the lack of local resources in the arts at the time and the fact that the Turkish audience would be seeing examples of adaptations until the Turkish cinema developed enough to produce its own prestigious products. The period is full of examples of adaptations of Moliere's plays, Hugo's novels and the like.

Established in 1928, İpek Film, with various movie theaters in İstanbul and İzmir, two major cities in Turkey, continued to import foreign films to Turkish theaters until the 1940's. İpek Film was also the center for the first systemic translations and dubbing practices. Famous Turkish writer Nazım Hikmet was

writing adaptations and translating films for dubbing under pseudonyms. The woman who was referred to as the queen of dubbing Adalet Cimcoz and the king of dubbing, Ferdi Tayfur, worked for the firm, and with their own unique interpretations of the dubbing texts, foreign films were ‘localized’ (*Turkified*) for domestic consumption (Özgüç 2010, 252). With literacy rates at lower than 10% throughout the era, subtitling was not an option. Neither was it desirable as it would not fully integrate the Western culture into the Turkish setting as it would foreignize the product in that audience would not hear Turkish.

Muhsin Ertuğrul, one of the most criticized founders of Turkish cinema, was also known for his adaptations from foreign sources. Two thirds of his thirty films shot in the 1922–1953 period were adaptations. Enthralled by the works of French and German theater and cinema and Russian cinema, the director was either remaking the plays he had staged in the season for the theater as films, or adapting foreign films for the Turkish audience (Özön 1968). Experts of the era are critical of his works to the extent that they question whether he really contributed to the development of Turkish cinema since all his works were “direct copies” of foreign films (And 1971).

There is evidence also of films translated from the French, German, Austrian and Swedish cinema in which the intertitles were always given in French and Turkish together- this tradition was to continue until the 1940s (Scognamillo 2014, 78)

In 1938–1944 the effects of the war had taken its toll on the cinema sector and the government reduced taxes on entertainment from 75% to 25% to support the sector (Onaran 1994, 102). The number of dubbed American and Egyptian films increased during the war with local productions falling drastically (Özön 1966).

The 1947–1953 period marked the rise of Turkish cinema as a stand-alone sector not solely dependent on translations, but also original local productions (Arpad, 1959). The approximately twenty adaptations of foreign films in the era did contribute to the Turkish cinema in the sense that they enabled new genres to be used; for example an adaptation of Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* as *Drakula İstanbul’da* [*Dracula in İstanbul*] brought a new vision to the Turkish cinema (Scognamillo 2014, 124–125).

In this era which could be referred to as the beginning of AVT, the dominant forms of AVT include replacement and translation of intertitles in the silent movie era and the *Turkified*³ dubbing of films with the advent of the talkies, followed by the mainstream adaptations of foreign films that were to give rise to the local AV sector.

3 “Turkified” is used here in the sense to mean the prominent use of Turkish culture and localization and censoring of storylines and dialogues to make foreign products familiar to the moviegoing public.

4. The peak of adaptation: 1960s–1983

The dominance of translations and adaptations from the West had never reached the heights it did in the 1960s period and the following years, definitely at least until 1977 (Scognamillo 2014, 117). Some experts even state that the adaptations referred to in this period were not adaptations in the sense that we think of them today, but cut-copy-paste versions of foreign films with only character and place names being changed (Çetin Erus 2005, 45) and of course the norms portrayed in the films were adapted to the values of Turkish audiences in many cases.

Osman F. Seden, a prominent director and producer, serves as a great example of the realities of the time as he, like many of his colleagues' started making films by translating film dialogue for localized dubbing (Scognamillo 2014, 145).

The Turkish cinema moved into a new era in the 1960s. It was becoming an industry. The economic and political realities of the time guided the Turkish AV and AVT scene in certain directions. On the one hand there were proponents of the Revolutionary Cinema (leftist tendencies), and on the other end of the spectrum proponents of the National Cinema (conservatives) (Kayalı 2015, 31–33), both drawing from the repertoires of Western cinema and adapting foreign films in line with their ideologies.

Economically this period was hard on the Turkish people. Starting with the 1950s the Turkish economy was based on foreign aid and debts. In the 1960s Turkey turned back to economic planning with the establishment of the State Planning Organization. But, with the 1973 oil crises and the 1974 Cyprus issues, political instabilities damaged the improving economy (Erdemir 2007, 162–163).

Politically the 1970s were a decade of great political turbulence in Turkey with anti-systemic armed groups from both ends of the spectrum fighting each other on the streets. On September 12 1980, the military authorities stepped in to end the anarchy (Poulton 1999, 50).

In this period it was as if Turkey was trying to leapfrog (see Knutsson 2012, 183) from falling behind global trends and going through internal political and economic instability into a Western nation in line with the goals set for the nation by policymakers.

The film and cinema sector was a tool at the elite's disposal. In his history of Turkish cinema, Scognamillo (2014, 111) states that the 1960–1986 period was one of unprecedented growth for the sector in Turkey. Özön (1968) marks foreign 'adaptations' as one of the most prominent types of films produced in this era.

Adaptations varied considerably. These can be broadly categorized as follows⁴:

- * Close adaptations of Hollywood hits (e.g. *Some like it Hot* (1959) as *Fıstık Gibi Maşallah* [Super Hot!] (1964) by director Hulki Saner).
- * Localized adaptations took the characters and stories and placed them as they are in the Turkish setting (*Viva Zapata* (1952) as *Reşo Vatan İçin* [Resho Saves the Nation] (1974) by Çetin İnanç).
- * Loose adaptations which used only plot lines and characterization of the original (*The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) as *Vatan Kurtaran Aslan* [A Lion Who Saved a Nation] (1966) by director Tunç Başaran).
- * Religious adaptations (*The Exorcist* (1973) as *Şeytan* [The Devil] (1974) by director Metin Erksan- the symbols of the Christian faith are replaced with those of the Muslim faith.)
- * Multiple adaptations of classical films (*The Sheik* (1921) as *Şeyh Ahmed* [Sheik Achmed] by Etem Göreç and *Çöl Kartalı* [Falcon of the Desert] by Hüsni Cantürk both in 1968).
- * Adaptations from cinematic adaptations of literature (*Madame Bovary* as *Seninle Son Defa* [One Last Time] (1978) by Feyzi Tuna- an adaptation of Mme Bovary as a love story; *Don Quixote* as *Don Kişot Sahte Şövalye* [Don Quixote: the Fake Knight] by Semih Evin).
- * Adaptations changing the gender of the lead character (*Hamlet* (1948) as *İntikam Meleği Kadın Hamlet* [The Female Hamlet: An Angel of Revenge] (1976) by Metin Erksan – an adaptation with Hamlet as a woman).
- * Collage adaptations in which two films were used in a single storyline (*Camille* (1936)/ *Irma la douce* (1956) as *Ben Bir Sokak Kadınıyım* [I am a Street Walker] (1966) by Ertem Eğilmez)
- * Pseudotranslations of ‘hero adventures’ (*Captain America* (1944) as *Üç Dev Adam* [Three Giant Men] (1973) by Fikret Uçak- this pseudotranslation includes the Captain, Spiderman and Santo as the other heroes; *Superman* as *Süper Adam Kadınlar Arasında* [Supermen Among Women] (1972) by Cavit Yürüklü- superman is a playboy in this version.)
- * Adaptations from comics (*The Phantom* as *Kızılmaske* [Crimson Mask] (1968) by Çetin İnanç – an adaptation of the Lee Falks adventure comic strip)
- * Adaptations from TV series (*Flash Gordon* (1936) as *Baytekin Fezada Çarpışanlar* [Mr. Strong and the Space Fighters] (1967) by Şinasi Özönük).

4 This is not an adaptation experts categorization of the films in question. It is an effort to explain and show the richness of the variety and the types of adaption undertaken.

- * Adaptations for children (*The Wizard of Oz* (1951) as *Ayşecik ve Sihirli Cüceler Rüyalar Ülkesinde* [Little Ayşe and the Magical Dwarfs in Wonderland] (1971))
- * Pseudotranslations (James Bond films were adapted in 1967 as *Altın Çocuk* [The Golden Boy] *Dehşet Yaratın Adam* [The Man Who Spreads Terror], *Yakut Gözlü Kedi* [The Cat with Emerald Eyes] by Memduh Ün, Nejat Okçugil, İlhan Engin, Nejat Saydam)

Literally hundreds of examples can be added to the list presented above as most classics and Hollywood hits were adapted into Turkish. There were even examples of scenes from original films being cut in to the Turkish versions with for example so-called Turkish Star Wars (*Dünyayı Kurtaran Adam* –[The Man who Saved the World] by Çetin İnanç 1982) where technological battle scenes were ‘copied’ directly from the original Star Wars movie⁵.

In all the types of adaptation referred to above (especially when there is no legislation or penalty) the mediator may establish any sort of link s/he wishes with the original. The degree of faithfulness to the original could range from anything from the use of similar characters, to a localized but faithful rendition in concealed translations. In this sense adaptations are types of AVT which would allow not only a source genre or type of AV product to be integrated into the culture, but would also make the inception of such imports seemingly easy and natural.

One could argue that since the product would be localized there would be little trace of the foreign culture. I would argue that even the use of themes, hitherto unused in the local repertoire, the characters which are drawn from the originals would entail cultural transfer. For example, James Bond films were adapted and set in Istanbul Turkey, but the Bond portrayed carried essences of a foreign culture. In Turkish films of the era studied the national spy was portrayed as poor, honest, hardworking, usually a family man or if not in love with a single woman and physically strong and manly. But, when Bond is the inspiration for the spy in a Turkish adaptation, he becomes a playboy, a daredevil, a suave man of the city, a big spender who likes luxury and so on and so forth.

Another example can be given from the adaptation of the film *Sabrina*. An ugly duckling who happens to have undergone a remarkable change, still harbors feelings for her crush, a rich, carefree playboy; but, his business-focused brother has other plans and intervenes to stop the romance, falling in love with the girl in question. In the adapted version, once the young girl is portrayed as being blinded by the glamour of the younger brother and the older brother only takes a brotherly

5 This practice has been derogatively referred to as Turksplotation, the Turkish exploitation of foreign films in some instances.

interest in the girl and only later falls in love, the adapters have given the audience the story albeit in an acceptable manner. Themes, such as luring away an innocent young woman, which would have been unacceptable for the Turkish audience of the time, are coaxed into acceptable terms through adaptation.

At this juncture it is important to state that adaptation may have been a necessity and not only a choice as the Turkish cinema, originals, adaptations and translations were heavily censored in the era referred to. The Censorship Law passed in 1939 continued to prevail until 1977. A survey (Cener 1960, 22–23) underlines that the censorship laws in force at the time very strictly limited the content of the productions. For example, according to the statistics of the Municipality of İstanbul in 1960 the number of cinemagoers in İstanbul was 26.885.069 and almost all were watching adapted local productions since only 92 foreign films were approved for viewing by the censorship board (Tikveş 1968). Taxes on foreign imports were also very high. The changes to the censorship law in 1977 brought changes to the cinema scene enabling the police force to enforce censorship in movie theatres (Sanatel 2013). In this sense maybe adaptation was the smoothest transfer of culture possible in the era studied: The essence is relayed, but in a way as to make it acceptable to the viewers and the censorship organs.

Following the Turkish cinema, television initiated cultural transfer through dubbing in the 1969–1983 period with the establishment of a state owned and run television.

5. Enter television: 1968, TRT, the state owned television monopoly

The second five year development plan (1966) stressed the use of television for cultivation purposes and underlined the use of television in raising public awareness about the West and supporting Westernization efforts (Oskay 1971, 50). The founding principles of the TRT stated in Article 5. of the 2954 numbered TRT Law are a clear indication of this effort. The TRT is founded to:

1. Ensure that Atatürk's principles and reforms take root in Turkey. That the Turkish nation, in line with national aims, attains the standards of modern civilizations and even surpasses it.
2. In conjunction with Atatürk's nationalism, embracing democracy, secularism and social legal state principles and in support of human rights, promote the existence and the independence of the state, the territorial integrity of the country, peace within society, national cooperation and justice,
3. Develop national education and culture,

4. Protect the national security policy, national and economic interests of the state (<http://www.trt.net.tr/kurumsal/YayinIlkelerimiz.aspx>).

Television ownership and television itself has always been seen as a great source of power in Turkey. Ever since the first broadcast on the TRT on January 31 1968 politics, media and social power have gone hand in hand. Colored by political maneuvering and fights for a chair on the board of TRT in the 1970's, appointments to critical positions of personnel during military coups, marked by criticism from political parties, showing a clear orientation towards supporting the policies of the ruling party, changed through legal amendments to its regulations, Turkish state television served the Westward cultivation of the people in one direction or another depending on the political, social climate of the country (see Dedeoğlu 1992).

The ideal was the nation state coexisted completely with the state. In such a state everyone shared a common culture usually propagated by a centralized education system (Poulton 1999, 48). This in turn was also propagated with the use of a centralized state media.

Statistical research shows that the TRT repertoire especially in the 1968–1985 period was composed of foreign programs which were dubbed. A domestic AV product is defined by TRT as “a production made through the resources of the TRT, either through cooperation with others or solely through its own resources,” (TRT 1985, 96). Though there is no definition of what a foreign audiovisual product is, foreign productions were either dubbed or (rarely) subtitled on TRT.

According to researchers there were also collages, programs prepared by TRT in which scenes and parts of foreign productions were used. Cartoons in TV programs for children, songs and dances in TV entertainment shows, and other such foreign programs inserted into local productions can be given as examples (Çankaya 1992, 9).

In children's programs, the texts of the original were changed according to the norms and the culture of the target audience. Specific examples include the localization of *The Flintstones*, *The Vikings* and *The Muppet Show* which were culturally appropriated in dubbing in line with Turkish audience profiles (Çankaya 1992, 10).

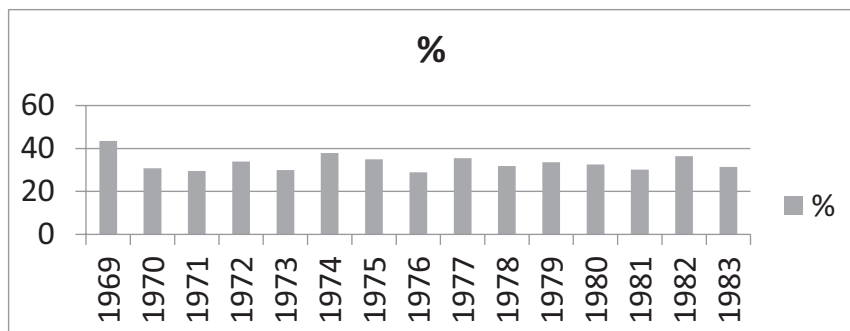
As is the case in many regions of the world, Turkish audiences also identified with localized products at the time. As translation scholars have stated, “target audiences tend to identify with a localized product which has undergone considerable transformations, such as cultural appropriation, narrative manipulation and censorship,” (Balirano 2013, 574).

Writings about the era abound in examples of cultural and social change through television. One such chronicler states that the lifestyles of the Turks had changed as the evenings were reserved for watching television and the images they saw on the screen allowed the Turkish public to acquaint themselves with the world. Tunç (2005, 103) states that it was as if the Turkish people had seen the rest of the world for the first time, having lived in the close confines of their own worlds the images from others came as a welcome surprise. People used to go to houses with television sets to watch television at night. In the era when there was a national curfew and acts of terrorism on the streets, watching television and especially the dubbed series and films was the major form of entertainment (Tunç 2005, 137).

Çankaya (1992, 11) states that the number of foreign programs increased as the technical capabilities of TRT developed. In underlining the importance of foreign programs the researcher states that these products were imported from the West and especially the USA. Foreign productions like Westerns, Sci-Fi, family movies, American musicals, action series, hits like *Dallas* were always aired on prime time with little attention given to local productions.

In a year by year analysis Çankaya presents a list of foreign programs (especially imports from USA, Great Britain, Germany and France) throughout the 1968–1985 period of the TRT. A numerical summary of her analysis is as follows:

Figure 1. Foreign programs



The remaining 50% of the shows aired were the news, music literacy programs and the like. In a final assessment Çankaya (1992, 110–111), states that the TRT which was a monopoly in Turkey at the time, served dubbed foreign series and these were always aired on prime time. This policy was embraced to allow the Turkish public to relax at certain hours watching entertainment, increase viewer

rates and was clearly allowing the Turkish public to live in the foreign lives of the rich and famous, empathize with characters and forget their own realities.

Buying foreign productions were cheaper than making domestic productions and series and films injected the foreign cultures of the countries in question (Çankaya 1992, 111).

The same actors and actresses were used in dubbing foreign and domestic films for many years in Turkey and the vocalization traditions (e.g. pitch of voice, tone in expressing feeling, careful standard pronunciation) which were very familiar to the Turkish audience were formed at this time. The stereotypical dubbing formats devised by the first dubbing artists changed very little until the late 1990s. This was also a part of the national language policy in which the many peoples of Turkey from different ethnic, cultural and linguistic origins were taught Standard Turkish at schools. Viewers would hear the same voices, intonation and style in both Turkish and foreign productions. In a documentary dealing with the dubbing practices in the TRT⁶ dubbing artists (most of whom are actors of the state theatre and some amateurs) refer to the differences between that era and contemporary dubbing practices. Since until 1995 audiovisual products in Turkey were not filmed on the sound stage, both local and foreign productions were dubbed. Yekta Kopan, a famous dubbing artist, refers to the initial periods of dubbing at the TRT as a collective effort with actors gathering together to practice the scenes in the 1970's. Nuvit Candemir recalls how voice directors were very picky in terms of casting the right voice for the right part. Jeyan Mahfi Ayval Tözüm, whose voice is engraved in the minds of Turkish viewers due to the fact that she spoke a majority of Turkish and foreign leads in her time, refers to the practice of using the same vocalization techniques for multiple actors in different films and series. In another documentary about dubbing⁷ in the same period, Uğur Taşdemir, a recruit from the theatre, recalls how he was astounded to hear 'the voices of his childhood' (the older dubbing actors) when he went in for his first dubbing session at the TRT. Though dubbing technology and systems changed for the better in the 1990's, almost all the actors in the documentaries comment on the quality of dubbing at the time and how it was a trade learned through apprenticeship at the TRT.

There were also advantages to the use of dubbing. Whereas one cannot prove whether these reasons played a conscious role in intentionally embracing dubbing as

6 Seslendirme, dublaj belgeseli: Türkçe Seslendirme <http://aykutugur.blogcu.com/seslendirme-dublaj-belgeseli-turkce-seslendirme/18023074>.

7 Sesin Yüzü – <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ax5wvqKYMHo>.

the dominant type of AVT, the fact remains that it was embraced and the advantages it gave the mediator to manipulate the AV product were put to full use at the TRT.

The practice of dubbing, since it completely erases the aural channel of the original, makes it much easier to conceal censorship, as well as making it easier to adapt to the norms of the target culture. For example, in cutting a scene out of a film the dialogue and story continuity can be achieved by the addition of a single phrase, or line to the dubbed track. The characters can end up praying to Jesus or Allah as the mediator wishes. Dubbing gives the mediator total control over the audio channel, allowing AV products to be fashioned more freely. In subtitling on the other hand the original is accessible, there are always those who understand the original. Furthermore, in subtitling one cannot erase the paralinguistic features of the aural text which also allow for access to information. For example, the mediator may tone down a lewd remark, but cannot tone down the quality of the voice and the level of sexual innuendo it possesses. In this sense subtitling allows the audience access to the original. Dubbing thus can be widely used in circumstances and channels when products need to be fashioned in line with societal concerns.

There was evidence of heavy censoring in terms of the content of the AV products in the era studied. All films were censored and mediated by TRT officials to “uphold Turkish traditions and norms”, products were thus “fashioned on the principles of Turkish modesty and shame, and not in any way harming national feelings” (Tunç 2005, 133).

Television marked the entrance of the rest of the world into the lives of a majority of the Turkish people, especially those living in rural areas. This mass mediation of AV translated products was handled in a way as to allow a smooth passage of the ‘other’ into the lives of the target viewers. In line with the norms of the society, showing sensitivity where national issues were at stake and keeping in mind that Turkish families watched television together, translated AV products were mediated in a manner as to make them acceptable for family consumption, make them examples of correct behavior for the society at large and make them appealing to the public.

Whereas one cannot prove *exactly* what factors played a role, or whether political and social ideologies played the *central* role in intentionally embracing adaptation and dubbing as the dominant type of AVT at the time exemplified in the study, the fact remains that they were used and the advantages they gave the mediator to manipulate the AV product ‘in translation’ were put to full use in Turkey’s case.

6. Enter private TV and subtitling: 1985–2000

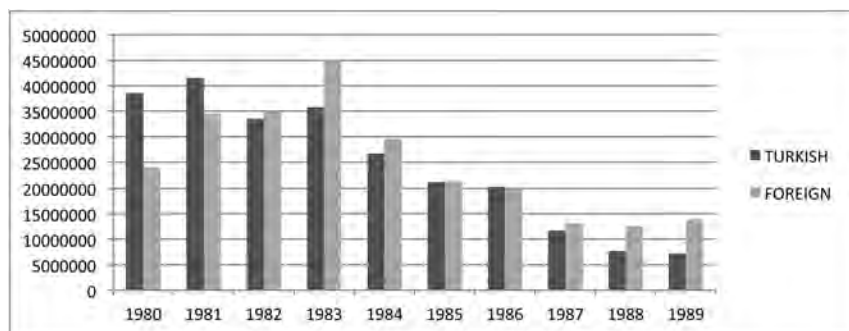
Social and political changes in the 1985–2000 period affected the sector deeply. Following the establishment of a new government after the 1980 coup, in 1984 the

Turkish economy opened up to foreign sectors, actors and investment (Kongar 2013, 220). Furthermore, in the post-1980s era researchers emphasize the ongoing struggle of the Turkish nation to unlearn and undo the homogenous, monolithic and absolute ideology adopted by the state's mentality and imposed on the people for the sake of modernization and westernization (Karanfil 2006, 72). All of these lead to a large scale revolution and evolution of the AVT sector in Turkey. In summary, many of the filters were lifted and Turkey was watching relatively uncensored productions in the original, in synch with the rest of the world.

There was a switch from dubbing to subtitling in movie theaters (Gül 2009, 83); an increase in the number of movie theaters and the number and variety of foreign films (Gül 2009, 83); an explosion of private television channels some of which also used subtitling to advocate global integration and because of financial concerns (Mete 1999); an increase in paid TV platforms and digital platforms and videos (Tamer 1983, 134); the establishment of a state guided censorship organization due to the inability to control the inflow of the type of AV translated products which were deemed to be negatively affecting the Turkish morals and identity (for the establishment of the two central organs Radyo Televizyon Yüksek Kurulu (RTYK) November 1983 and Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu (RTÜK) 1994 see Kejanlıoğlu 2001, 110–113); and new laws on media and cinema which brought copyright concerns cutting out adaptations and bringing on legal remakes (for details see Law numbered 3257 enacted on 23/1/1986 on Copyright in Cinema, Video and Music).

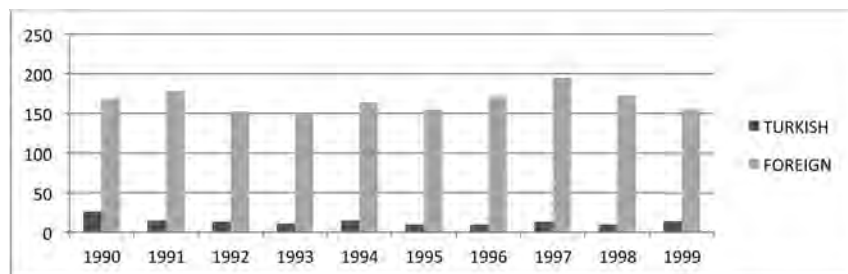
As the following chart providing figures on the cinema going public in the 1980's clearly indicates, in the 1980s not only was there a decrease in the numbers of cinema going public with the arrival of private TV channels but also a dominance of foreign subtitled films over local productions with trend changing very fast within the decade given (Figures compiled from Yavuzkanat 2010).

Figure 2. Cinema going



The 1990's was a clear case of the dominance of subtitling with the local cinema sector collapsing, as the chart below on the number of Turkish and foreign productions viewed in cinemas clearly displays (Figures compiled from Yavuzkanat 2010).

Figure 3. *Films viewed in cinemas*



7. A wealth of AVT in the 21st century

Interestingly enough, with the turn of the millennium, just a short while later, the Turkish AVT sector saw the rise of other phenomena. The change in the political front with the election of a conservative government foregrounding its Islamic identity but not excluding modern life or its habit of consumption (Daldeniz 2010, 227) led to a demand for even a larger variety of Western products. With Turkey's efforts to become a full member of the EU and to attain regional power, the inflow and outflow of translated AV products grew immensely both to better acquaint the local public with the world they were striving to become a part of and to allow Turkey to be better known on the global platform.

This brought on the use of the Internet to disseminate AV products and the rise in the social translation sector (Okyayuz 2016a); the advent of other technologies such as DVD and diverse subtitling practices (Okyayuz 2016b); as opposed to the 1990s, the heavy censorship of AVT products and the politization of dubbing practices for conservative audiences; the advent of remakes on a large scale (Findık & Okyayuz 2013), the first examples of which were faithful translations, but which evolved into freer remakes aligning itself not with the original work but with contemporary Turkish conservative norms (Okyayuz 2016c); and a revival of a contemporary Turkish cinema and television with its own rich repertoire and ex-translation of Turkish series and films (Okyayuz 2016d).

Today, Turkey continues its efforts in AVT with not only in-translation (subtitling, dubbing, remakes according to channel and viewer preference sometimes even of the same product) of foreign AV products, but also developing an AV

ex-translation sector where Turkish translators translate (i.e. subtitling and script translation) into languages such as English, French or German which in turn are translated into the local languages of countries where Turkish AV products are aired. Currently over 150 Turkish soap operas have been aired in ninety countries in the world reaching over four hundred million viewers yearly (Akyol 2014). Studies are conducted in the fields of politics, diplomacy, economics, sociology, anthropology and others on the cultural, religious, social, economic and other impacts of these translated products (Okyayuz 2016e).

In this sense the greatest changes in the 21st century are the addition of ex-translation to the Turkish AVT spectrum, the legalization of adaptations into remakes, the variety of AVT with dubbing, subtitling and audio description existing side by side. Turkey continues to use the power of AVT both internally and externally as it has for the last century as a soft power tool both in the political and social sense.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research presented is a severely shortened version of the data compiled for the research project, also limited by the inability to provide AV material which would make many issues clearer and more striking. But overall, in the case of the trajectory of AVT in Turkey and the use of the different types of AVT for specific purposes, research suggests that there is evidence to support the claim that different types of AVT may be used in line with social, political aspirations and in line with the realities of certain eras.

It is logical to assert that in countries where AV viewer rates are high and other forms of communication and information flow (i.e. literacy rates, reading books, buying newspapers etc.) are relatively low, AVT (in its widest sense) is and can be used as a political and social tool with the types of AVT practiced depending not only on technological developments and degree of censoring embraced, but also on the politics and aspirations of the country.

The appropriation of AVT products depend on changes to national laws, social norms, stability vs. turmoil (increase in filters) in the country and population shifts. Overall, types of AVT practiced where embraced and sometimes changed in Turkish AVT history in the following instances: When the local repertoire needed enriching (1930–1990) all types of AVT were embraced; when politics and society get restless (1960–1980) filtering was introduced with increase in dubbing and adaptations allowing for appropriation; when there are new directions in policy and society (1950's, 1990, 2000's) new forms of AVT such as subtitling were introduced; when the economy suffered (1960's, 1985–1990's) and when there are

societal shifts (1970's, 2000's) various changes occurred on the AVT scene. Though the research is not yet complete, these seem to be the major political and societal factors affecting changes in the AVT scene in Turkey.

AVT research of this kind, compiling a repertoire of histories and trajectories (both collective trends and case studies of each country, community, language) allows one to view the issue of AVT from a larger perspective which leads to an understanding of the complex interaction between AVT, change, society and power, which is undeniably one of the central issues in AVT research. It could be suggested that such a compilation from a variety of cultures and countries could open further avenues of thought and research.

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